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German Fascism

THE SAAR 2^D AND NAZI TERROR

**The Report of the Commission
of Investigation into National
Socialist Terror in the Saar**

**BRANTING-KAROLYI - MARLEY-
THOMPSON**

**Published by the Committee for the Relief of the
Victims of Fascism, 1 Litchfield Street, W.C.2**

PREFACE

The Saar!

What is the Saar?

A tiny strip of territory bearing rich coalfields, inhabited by about 600,000 persons and lying between Germany and France.

The Saar was, and is, German by feeling and culture, but the Peace Treaty detached its mines from Germany and gave rights over them to France, at the same time placing the territory under neutral supervision and appointing January, 1935, as the time for a plebiscite when the inhabitants should choose: (1) to return to Germany; or (2) to go to France; or (3) to stay under the supervision of the League of Nations, the *status quo*.

What of it?—one may say. If the Saar is overwhelmingly German it will vote in January, 1935, to return to Germany, an injustice of the Peace Treaty will be rectified. The world has many problems and many troubles, this seems a very small corner to worry about.

But there is another side, a human side to this problem which can't be measured by geography.

Two years ago 95 per cent. of the people of the Saar would have voted for Germany.

But now Hitler rules in Germany and Germany has become a prison.

Pacifists and those who hate war have seen their fellows silenced and thrown into concentration camps, workers have seen their organisations destroyed and wages reduced, Communists and Socialists have seen their brothers beaten and executed, religious persons—and the Saar is predominantly Catholic—have seen their Church interfered with, the processions of their youth broken up and scattered, the Jews—though there are not many in the Saar—know what would be in store for them.

And so many Saarlanders have said: "We are German—but to go back to Germany now would be to betray Germany. We will keep a corner of the real German culture and freedom alive in the Saar, until the Third Reich disappears and the real Germany comes to its senses. Vote for the *status quo*!"

Those who say this know what is in store for them. The Ministers of Justice in Berlin, in announcing on October 31st secret death sentences against an unarmed and unnumbered group of "traitors," declared: "Henceforth every German who betrays his Fatherland has forfeited his head." And the name given by the Nazis, in newspaper, in speech, in broadcast, to those who work or vote for the *status quo* is "Traitor."

What, in concrete terms, does this mean? The Socialists and Com-

munists, who polled, at the last elections 27 per cent. of the votes in the Saar, have united to work for the *status quo*. Many Catholics are co-operating with them.

At the very least, 200,000 opponents of National-Socialism, with their wives and children, are threatened by Hitler's revenge.

Not only the report which follows, but the published report of the League of Nations Commissioner himself, has shown to what lengths terror, intimidation and even forgery have been carried by the Nazis in the Saar in order to secure a majority.

The Commissioner of Investigation was able, *within 24 hours of the publication of the polling-lists*, to draw attention to more than 100 supporters of the *status quo* in Saarbrücken whose names did not appear on the voting-lists, to 25 National-Socialist supporters in one small village alone whose names appeared in the lists, though they were not entitled to vote. The Catholic press has drawn attention to duplicate entries, supporters of National-Socialism entered twice or more often in separate districts (one name is down no less than fourteen times). In one small village 37 names of dead persons appear on the lists, and in two districts the names of patients at the local lunatic asylums have been included. In all, in spite of the relatively short time allotted for protest, over 100,000 protests have been received by the Saar Plebiscite Commission against a polling-list of 320,000 names. This proportion is a measure of the extent of the falsification that has taken place.

The Peace Treaty guarantees the inhabitants of the Saar a free, fair and secret right of self-determination. The report of the Commission of Investigation which follows, sets forth, with a care and authority that must command attention, the reasons for fearing that, on the contrary, the plebiscite will be held under conditions neither secret nor free from intimidation and falsification.

There are some who, for reasons of political expediency, would acquiesce in this terror, even though recognising its existence.

But there are others who feel that not merely the written pledges of a Treaty, but something more, elementary human right and justice itself, demand that the right of self-determination promised should be made real.

It is the attention of these latter that is earnestly directed to the evidence in the following pages and to the constructive proposals therein set out.

Contributions to relieve cases of victimisation in the Saar can be sent to the Relief Committee for the Victims of Fascism, 1, Litchfield Street, W.C.2, marked "Saar Fund."

THE SAAR AND NAZI TERROR

I

TO THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, GENEVA.

THE undersigned Commission of Investigation into National-Socialist terror in the Saar begs to submit to the Council the results of an extensive investigation recently undertaken in the Saar Region. The Commission of Investigation was appointed to its task by the World Committee for the Relief of the Victims of Hitler-Fascism. The latter received invitations from various political and religious organisations in the Saar, including Catholic organisations, Trade Unions, and the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties. In view of the fact that the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties alone polled together approximately 27 per cent. of the votes at the last regional parliamentary elections, it may be said without exaggeration that the investigation by the Commission was in response to a desire expressed by a considerable part of the population.

The members of the Commission were throughout fully conscious of the special character of their work. The fact that the Commission bore no sort of official character and lacked any sort of official endorsement set definite limits to its operations. The more so, since the physical and moral terror of the National-Socialists in the Saar Region prevented many victims and witnesses from appearing before the Commission for fear of further persecution. Nevertheless, more than forty victims of National-Socialist terror (almost all being cases occurring during the month of September, 1934), and an even larger number of witnesses to acts of terror, appeared before the Commission. The concentration of so many instances within one month is itself proof not only of the extremely widespread nature of the terror, but also of its organised and directed character. The Commission has no doubt that an official investigation guaranteeing the victims and witnesses security from further persecution would bring to light a considerably larger number of acts of terror even within this one month of September.

The Commission set out with the desire to hear victims and witnesses from as diverse classes of the population and regions of the territory as might be possible. The Commission heard miners, priests, tramwaymen, clerks, business men, doctors and lawyers from every part of the Saar Region. Among those heard were not only men but women. The youngest victim of terror heard by the

Commission was 23 years old, the oldest a woman of 60. The majority of those heard belonged to no party or trade union, a lesser number were members of Catholic organisations, Trade Unions, the Social-Democratic or the Communist Party.

The acts of terror here recorded form only a small part of the material investigated. They are, however, generally characteristic of the methods by which the terror is operated. The victims concerned are invariably men or women belonging to organisations not "gleichgeschaltet," or who have openly declared themselves for the status quo, or who have refused to join the "German Front," or whose opposition to National-Socialism has become known in some other manner. In the overwhelming majority of cases victims gave evidence that the police, when summoned by witnesses or by the victims themselves, refused to intervene or did so only with great reluctance and belatedly, refused to record the names of the assailants or did so only after urgent pressure, and usually declared that identification of the assailants was impossible.

In every case investigated the victims and witnesses declared that the assailants were never brought before a magistrate, as should have been the normal procedure in such cases, whereas the opponents of National-Socialism were invariably dealt with in this way. Witnesses declared in evidence that certain of the assailants boasted that their cases would never come to trial. In view of its unofficial character, the Commission was not in a position to check these statements by enquiry from the police and judicial authorities. Lawyers of repute, whose responsibility is without question, have, however, satisfied the Commission that these statements are undoubtedly well-founded.

The Commission does not think it necessary to re-direct the Council's attention to the attempted murder of Police Commissioner Machts or to the brutal assault upon the Deputy of the Saar Parliament, Sommer, events which have aroused particular public notice. Of the forty cases investigated, the Commission submits to the Council only 8, a number not of course exhaustive in any sense. The Commission once more expresses its conviction that the cases investigated by it represent only a fraction of the assaults, maltreatment and acts of violence committed on the part of the National-Socialists. The Commission declares that each one of the cases below cited has been confirmed by at least two witnesses (not including the victim).

1. The case of Franz Becker, miner, Elwersberg, Herrenstrasse 41a. Confirmed by two witnesses. On the 5th September, at 10 p.m,

Franz Becker was attacked by from 30 to 40 National-Socialists, who rushed forward at a signal given with a whistle by the National-Socialist, Georg Weiss. Franz Becker was beaten with ox-hide whips and steel rods until he became unconscious. The effects of the assault were four wounds (holes) in the head, wounds on the eye, nose, cheek, back and left upper-arm. Medical testimony is available. The police, in the person of police inspector Zimmer, though called at once, only arrived half an hour later. The identity of the culprits apparently could not be established.

2. The case of Fritz Schneider, municipal employee, Sulzbach. Schneider was attacked during the night, 16th to 17th September, by several National-Socialists, beaten senseless, and left lying for some time. Among other wounds, one on the head was extremely serious. Medical testimony available. At the time of his examination by the Commission on the 21st September, Schneider was still under medical treatment. Schneider is a member of the Social-Democratic Party and a known anti-Fascist.
3. William Hillebrand, merchant, Rentich, Kaiserstrasse 37. At the beginning of September, 1934, when Hillebrand was on a business errand in the neighbourhood of Rheinheim and occupied in conversation with various persons seated at table in an inn, he was suddenly attacked by a man aged from 28 to 30, who struck him in the face with his fist. The next moment about fifteen National-Socialists and German Frontsmen, armed with steel rods and other hitting instruments, burst in through every door, leaped upon him and beat him for some ten minutes. One of the many injuries received by Hillebrand was a violent blow in the region of the kidneys. Medical evidence is available on the point. Hillebrand was unfit for work for six weeks. Until 1929 Hillebrand was Reich musical director of the National-Socialist Party, he then resigned from it. Subsequently he had become known as an opponent of National-Socialism. He recognised his assailants as National-Socialists. Other severe injuries he received were on the head, on the shoulders and to the eyes. Before the Commission he deposed to having been asked by a policeman he called whether he were the Hillebrand who used to speak at meetings two years previously; on receiving an affirmative answer, the policeman remarked that Hillebrand had no reason to be surprised at being beaten to pulp.
4. The case of Alois Parketter, electrician, 31 years old, Neunkirchen, Steinwaldstrasse 9. Just before 2 a.m., during the night 14th to 15th August, Parketter was assaulted in front of his house by National-Socialists and beaten unconscious with blunt instruments. He was unconscious for twelve hours. For eight days after the assault he was confined to his bed. Parketter is a member of no political party.
5. The case of Hinger, widow, and Köhl, housewife, both of

Neunkirchen, am Holzegehege 1, and Káte Heindel, Neunkirchen, Bismarkstrasse 19.

These women were assaulted on July 11th, 1934, by the National-Socialist, Theo Jakob, who first tried to beat Frau Köhl with his belt, and then struck Frau Hinger on the head with a hard object so that she fell unconscious. When Frau Heindel's husband, who had come up meanwhile, tried to prevent him, he drew his revolver and struck Frau Heindel in the eye. Then he escaped. Medical testimony is available in respect to Frau Hinger. The victims of the assault immediately lodged complaint with the authorities and demanded legal proceedings. They have never been advised of any steps taken in consequence.

6. The case of Heinrich Klauck, locksmith, 25 years old. Member of the Social-Democratic Party. On August 18th Klauck and a friend cycled along beside the Moselle towards Coblenz. He called to pay a visit to a friend in a voluntary labour camp, and while waiting to see him, was arrested by a flying squad, taken to a police station and cross-examined. From there he was taken to the offices of the Secret Police, cross-examined for several hours and, although he had not taken part in the slightest political activity on German soil, nor had the smallest shred of incriminating material been found upon him, he was kept prisoner for a week in an unlighted cell. The examining official told him: "Don't you know that anyone in the Saar who belongs to the Social-Democratic Party is a traitor?" After his return, Klauck discovered that, within an hour of his setting out on his cycle ride, a National-Socialist had telephoned information to the police at Coblenz.

7. The case of Frau Luise Hektor, Saarbrücken, Hohenzollernstrasse 114. On Tuesday, September 18th, 1934, between 6 and 7 o'clock, two members of the Hitler Youth Organisation threw two smoke bombs, which flared and emitted strong sulphur gas in front of Frau Hektor's house. Frau Hektor is known as an opponent of National-Socialism.

8. The case of Bernhard Krill, miner, Jägersfreude, Sellostrasse 72. During the morning of September 9th, Krill happened to be on the Bismarkstrasse when he heard cries for help coming from the courtyard of the Lang public-house. Three National-Socialists had suddenly attacked there a street seller of the Communist "Arbeiterzeitung." Their names were as follows: Reinhold Prinz, Johann (sometimes called Hubers) Dicker, and a man named Brenner. Krill was about to go to the assistance of the newspaper seller, when the three National-Socialists suddenly rushed at him, and at the same moment about fifteen National-Socialists dashed out of the Lang public-house, surrounded him and beat him up with sticks and belts which must have contained pieces or rings of iron. Krill

collapsed, covered with blood. Medical testimony is available regarding his injuries. He was incapacitated for days. The physician, Hugo Meier, who examined him, found five blood-covered and swollen abrasions, the right ear purple and swollen, the nose also swollen and bleeding, the back of the left hand swollen.

After the assault Krill raised himself and painfully crawled about 100 paces, when he encountered the police officer Kilzer (or Gilzer) of Herrensof, whom he told what had happened. The policeman advised him to see a doctor, and told him that he would call on him the following Monday to get a formal statement.

Cases such as the above are, according to trustworthy testimony, occurring almost daily in all parts of the Saar Region. Only a fraction of them become known to the public, for many of the man-handled victims are afraid to make any report.

Even more serious than the physical terror against defenceless women and men is the moral pressure to which are being subjected opponents of National-Socialism and supporters of the Saar status quo. It is difficult to give a comprehensive picture of this terrific moral pressure, for it reaches into the minutest details of everyday life. The Commission has heard witnesses, who appeared seized almost with panic at the idea that their names might become known and declared that their lives would be in danger should it be known that they had given evidence before the Commission. For obvious reasons the Commission is not in a position to cite the names of all the witnesses before it in this public report. It is, however, of course ready at any time to submit this confidential material to the Council of the League of Nations.

The most blatant form of moral pressure is the pillorying of individuals, and the implied threat "1935" conveyed in leaflets, posters, pamphlets, newspaper articles, as well as general conversation. Here is the text of a leaflet pillorying individuals, circulated during the months August and September:—

Attention! Attention!!

THE TRAITORS OF CALMESWEILER

Here they are—in the Pillory!!!

The Heroes of Sulzbach¹

JOHANN HORRASS—the flag-violator of Eppelborn. Got on at Lebach, got off at Eppelborn.

FRANZ HORRASS—left from Bubach station.

JOSEF SCHUH—left from Bubach station.

HERR and FRAU RUSCHEL—left from Fuschbachlazarett.²

(Ruschel has the well-known store of leaflets!)

This leaflet is one of many. It is no less than a veiled incitement to murder. It may well be imagined, from this evidence alone, what courage is required, particularly among members of the socially dependent classes, to stand up for their convictions in the face of such pillorying and continue to support the *status quo*, which is, after all, one of the three choices at the plebiscite.

The Commission submits also in appendix the photograph of a leaflet directed against the Catholic newspaper "Neue Saarpst," which supports the *status quo*. The evidence of witnesses gives a truly distressing picture of the moral pressure to which are subjected the employees, agents and sellers of this paper. They are branded as traitors in leaflets. Themselves, if they have other employment, their relatives and friends are threatened with discharge from their jobs. In Kirkel, for example, the son of a seller of this paper was discharged from his job for this reason. The houses of subscribers are defaced with threatening inscriptions. The shops selling the paper are boycotted. The boycott even extends to the schools. The son of the editor has to attend school in Holland, because in the school at Saarbrücken he was persecuted and boycotted. It may be remarked in passing that there is much evidence of witnesses that the school teachers force their pupils to sing National-Socialist songs.

Whoever is known as an opponent of National-Socialism, or as an adherent of the *status quo*, be he unorganised in party politics, be he oppositionist Catholic, Social-Democrat or Communist, is threatened with loss of work, pillory, boycott, the last going so far in fact that there are shops that refuse to serve him.

"Think of 1935!" This is the terrible slogan used for intimidation of the adherents of the *status quo*. Unanimously the witnesses report that, over and over again, the National-Socialists openly boast of the scores that will be settled with traitors after the plebiscite.

Of particular significance are the efforts made to influence and intimidate priests in the Saar Region. The Saar Region forms a part of the Catholic bishoprics of Treves and Speyer. Several Catholic priests gave evidence before the Commission of the manner in which it was sought to compel them to work for the return of the Saar Region to Germany and against the *status quo*.

1. The Bishop of Speyer transferred into Germany three priests of his diocese who were known supporters of the *status quo*, and has threatened others with similar transference.

¹The locale of a big demonstration for the *status quo*.

²Presumably describes the respective routes taken to Sulzbach.

2. The Bishop of Speyer, in a special letter to the priests of his diocese in the Saar Region, has advised them to have nothing whatever to do with the oppositionist newspaper "Neue Saarpst" in any way and not to subscribe to it. This "advice" was issued under invocation of clerical obedience, and was thus tantamount to a command.
3. The Catholic priests of the same diocese were obliged to sign a statement declaring that they were not subject to terror.
4. Both bishops have "advised" their priests not to support the *status quo* and not to speak at any *status quo* meeting. On the other hand Father Wilhelm and others speak without hindrance at meetings of the "German Front"; Father Dorr, who spoke for the *status quo* at a meeting, was transferred from the territory.

These few examples show the conflict of conscience to which are driven supporters of the *status quo* among the Catholic priesthood. It cannot be doubted that the "advice" of the clerical authorities is equivalent to political propaganda.

A particular form of pressure is the refusal by the municipal or parish authorities as well as by private owners of assembly rooms, to give hall accommodation for the purposes of meetings in support of the *status quo*. The welcome ruling of the Plebiscite Commission of the League of Nations respecting the compulsory making available of hall accommodation, issued 22nd September, 1934, has been forthcoming only following the close of the Commission of Investigation's work, and the latter is accordingly unable to express any opinion upon its result. There cannot, however, be any doubt that only the most rigorous enforcement of this ruling can secure any sort of opportunity of a hearing for the supporters of the *status quo*, and not even this means, or any other, would enable them to have the advantages possessed by the "German Front" in this respect. It cannot be doubted that there will be attempts on the part of the "German Front" to make use against the supporters of the *status quo* of any loopholes that there may be in this ruling. That it remains possible, in spite of the rulings of the Plebiscite Commission, to prevent meetings of the kind, is shown by the circumstances surrounding the general meeting of the Trade Union of Christian Metalworkers that took place in Saarbrücken on the 30th September.

Evidence was given before the Commission to the effect that the belief is widespread among the population that the voting in the plebiscite will not be secret. This belief, the Commission is able to declare, was reinforced by the circumstances attending the factory committee elections among the tramwaymen held in the Saarbrücken

on September 21st. The Commission heard two tramwaymen who had taken part in the elections. Evidence was furnished that, contrary to the prescribed ruling, the elections were not secret, that there were no enclosed cubicles or similar arrangement in which voting could be conducted secretly. The supporters of the so-called "Free List," that is, the opponents of the National-Socialists, had rented a hall for a meeting prior to the elections. When they arrived for the meeting the hall was already occupied by from 15 to 20 members of the "German Front." The proprietor explained that he was unable to give them the hall, he had forgotten that before he let it to them he had already let it to the "German Front."

Several tramwaymen who had at first allowed their names to go forward as candidates on the "Free List" were obliged by threats of dismissal to withdraw their candidatures. The Commission of Investigation could perceive that the events attending this election had made a deep impression on the population, who had seen in them a confirmation of their belief that the plebiscite would not be free, independent or secret.

Many witnesses drew the attention of the Commission to gross irregularities alleged to have occurred in the preparation of the polling-lists. Complaints were brought forward by witnesses respecting the composition of the District Polling Commissions set up under Article II of the polling regulations for the plebiscite, issued 7th July, 1934, for the purpose of preparing lists of persons duly entitled to vote. In altogether 83 of such District Polling Commissions, for example, there is only one member of the Communist Party, although at the last elections the Communists polled 18 per cent. of the votes, and there are only 7 Social-Democrats, although at the last elections the Social-Democrats polled 9 per cent. of the votes. By the preparation of the polling-lists, the District Polling Commissions lay what is the effective basis for the whole plebiscite. So long as the supporters of the *status quo* are not accorded equal representation in these District Polling Commissions, there can be no safeguard against falsification of the polling-lists to their detriment. In fact every witness expressed the conviction that the polling-lists include innumerable names of persons not entitled to vote, and that without doubt many of those duly entitled to vote who have changed their residence are being accepted as so entitled in two or more districts. Persons acquainted with the facts have pointed out that, on the date pertinent for the composition of the polling-lists, from 650,000 to 670,000 persons were resident in the

Saar Region, of whom 60,000 to 70,000 are ineligible to vote in accordance with the conditions prescribed for the plebiscite. Taking into consideration the fact that in Germany, out of a population of 65 millions, approximately 42 millions are entitled to vote, then, assuming a similar proportion, those duly entitled to vote in the Saar Region should number about 400,000. In fact, however, according to report, approximately 520,000 persons have been declared duly entitled to vote. This figure has been greeted by opponents of National-Socialism in the Saar Region with the greatest mistrust, and indeed, in view of the considerations set out here, it would appear in actual fact excessive.

The Plebiscite Commission has set up sub-committees to supervise the preparation of the polling-lists by the District Polling Commissions. A right of protest is accorded to those excluded from the polling-lists, and protest may also be made against false entry of persons not duly entitled to vote. In view, however, of the serious moral pressure already described by the Commission of Investigation, the fear cannot be dispelled that only a fraction of the irregularities may actually be reported. In the first place the fear of punishment may prevent many persons from lodging complaint; secondly, such complaints must be lodged in duplicate and by registered post. Protest thus involves financial expenditure, and is in many cases beyond the means of the opponents of National-Socialism, who belong in the main to the more indigent classes of the population.

Many witnesses heard by the Commission of Investigation have complained about Article 10 of the plebiscite regulations, which provides for the results to be announced separately in each petty district (village). The witnesses express the most earnest fear that the results of the plebiscite would thereby be influenced, inasmuch as the supporters of the *status quo* in these petty districts and villages are well known, and that the identity of those who voted for the *status quo* would thus be easy to determine from the results of the count. Witnesses unanimously expressed the request that the results of the poll should be announced only in larger units.

The Commission has heard depositions from witnesses to the effect that misleading reports and statements are being circulated on the part of National-Socialists in respect to the meaning of the expression "*status quo*." National-Socialist propaganda declares that a vote for the *status quo* is a vote for France. It declares that a vote for the *status quo* would mean perpetual separation of the Saar

Region from Germany. It declares, through press, wireless and leaflets, that the **status quo** means the perpetuation of the present constitution, and that in the event of a majority for the **status quo** the population would thenceforward be deprived of any say in the ultimate destiny of the Saar Region. Witnesses were unanimously agreed that to this day many persons duly entitled to vote either have never even heard the expression **status quo** or else do not know what is to be understood by it. In this connection witnesses were unanimously agreed that the position could only be remedied by a declaration on the part of the League of Nations, setting out a constitutional definition of the expression **status quo**, and also noting that the population of the Saar, suppose that it decide by majority for the **status quo** would be able, after a prescribed period, to decide the question of union with Germany by a new plebiscite.

The Commission of Investigation here summarises its conclusions based upon the testimony of reliable witnesses:—

1. There is a widespread conviction among the population of the Saar that the forthcoming plebiscite will not be independent or secret or free.
2. There is a widespread demand among the population of the Saar that, in the case of a majority for the **status quo**, a new plebiscite would be permitted after a given period.
3. Against those members of the Saar population not organised in the "German Front," numerous and organised acts of terror and violence are being committed on the part of the supporters of National-Socialism (the "German Front"). The opponents of National-Socialism are being subjected to severe pressure, of an open and physical as well as an implicit and moral character. Moral pressure is also being exercised on the part of clerical dignitaries whose seat of authority is in Germany.

In view of these conclusions, the undersigned members of the Commission of Investigation beg to submit to the Council of the League of Nations the following proposals for its consideration:—

1. Dissolution of the existing District Polling Commissions, by whom the polling-lists have been prepared, and setting up of new District Polling Commissions in which supporters of all three plebiscite choices shall be equally represented.
2. Checking of all polling-lists by neutral commissions in respect not only to the exclusion of names of persons duly entitled to vote, but also to the inclusion of names of persons not entitled to vote, and to the distribution of voting rights in more than one locality to a single person entitled to vote.

3. Cancellation of the ruling that protest respecting irregularity on the polling-lists must be lodged by registered post. Declaration by the Plebiscite Commission that all protests will be dealt with confidentially and that the name of any complainant will be kept secret, in so far at least as an alteration to his own name is not involved.
4. Announcement of the election results in large areas and not in petty districts (villages).
5. Counting of the votes for the entire Saar Region in one place. It would unquestionably be most effective in dispersing the fear of the population if this place were Geneva.
6. Counting to be effected by neutral officials, whose names should be announced the day preceding the poll.
7. Destruction of the polling-cards by neutral officials after the count.
8. Repeated publication in the Saar press, and repeated announcement by neutral wireless broadcasting of the measures to be taken to safeguard the secrecy of the poll.
9. Reminder of every person voting by the election official that the secrecy of the poll is fully safeguarded and that it can never be known how his vote is cast.
10. Constitutional definition of the concept **status quo** by the Council of the League of Nations.
11. Declaration by the Council of the League of Nations on the question of a second plebiscite, in the sense that, in the event of a majority for the **status quo**, the Council would raise no objection to a further plebiscite at a later date.
12. Repeated publication in the Saar press of both statements by the Council. Repeated broadcasting of both statements by neutral wireless and an obligation upon districts to post them in conspicuous positions on the municipal buildings.
13. Intervention by the Council both with the German Government and with the Vatican, with a view to obliging the clerical authorities in Germany to refrain from all political interference, even in apparently non-political form, in the question of the plebiscite in the Saar Region.
14. All these measures can be properly effective only if a stop be put to the extreme moral pressure and the physical terror conducted by the National Socialists against those who think differently from them. The Commission regards as being of the first degree essential:—
 - (a) Complete guarantee and safeguarding of the right of all parties in the Saar to hold meetings. Prevention of the sabotage of **status quo** meetings by National Socialists.
 - (b) Complete liberty of propaganda for all Parties and tendencies in the Saar region.
 - (c) Impartial conduct of the police and judicial authorities in the Saar region. This proposal, which is of especial importance, can, in

the opinion of the Commission, only be realised when the physical terror and moral pressure on the part of the "German Front" ceases to be favoured by both police and law courts. According to the official announcements of the governing commission, the police of the Saar region is unreliable, and accordingly the Commission of investigation proposes that the police be supplemented by an auxiliary police force able to ensure the carrying out the regulations of the governing commission for safeguarding the plebiscite and to protect the defenceless population of the Saar from persecution by the National Socialists. Furthermore, the Commission of Investigation urges the necessity of taking measures to ensure that the judicial authorities carry out their duties with strict impartiality.

The undersigned Commission expresses the hope that the Council will give kind consideration to these proposals. It has carried out its task with full consciousness of its responsibility and in the desire to liberate the defenceless population of the Saar from unendurable physical terror and moral pressure and thus to aid in securing that the forthcoming Plebiscite should be free, independent, and secret, and expressive solely of the wishes of the people of the Saar. In this spirit the undersigned Commission begs to submit to the Council of the League of Nations the foregoing report.

London, New York, Stockholm, the 9th October, 1934.

MARLEY.

WM. O. THOMPSON.

GEORG BRANTING.

MICHAEL KAROLYI.